

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10

DHA-02 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /075 W  
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P R 030600Z JAN 76  
FM AMCONSUL KARACHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9483  
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMCONSUL LAHORE  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KARACHI 0018

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, PK  
SUBJ: FEDERAL RULE PROCLAIMED IN BALUCHISTAN

SUMMARY: ACTING ON THE ADVICE OF THE GOVERNOR AND  
IN REPSONSE TO THE "URGINGS OF RESPONSIBLE MEN", PRIME  
MINISTER BHUTTO ANNOUNCED DECEMBER 31 THAT THE BALUCHISTAN  
MINISTRY AND ASSEMBLY HAD BEEN SUSPENDED. THE GOVERNOR,  
ASSISTED BY FIVE POLITICAL ADVISORS, WILL RULE THE PROVINCE  
FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THE LAX, LETHARGIC, AND  
EVEN CORRUPT PERFORMANCE OF THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION  
AND MINISTRY-- NOT OUTSIDE - SUPPORTED INSURGENT ACTIVITY,  
WHICH HE SAID HAD FAILED-- WAS CITED BY BHUTTO AS  
JUSTIFYING THE SUSPENSION OF THSQRULIMU PARTY GOVERNMENT.  
BHUTTO'S SURPRISE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS WELCOMED BY THE

QUETTA POPULACE, SOME PRO-GOVERNMENT POLITICIANS, AND  
SEVERAL NEWSPAPERS. OPPOSITION LEADERS RAISED AWKWARD  
QUESTIONS. AT A MINIMUM, GOVERNOR'S RULE SHOULD PROVIDE  
A PERIOD OF MORE EFFECTIVE AND HONEST ADMINISTRATIN;  
THERE IS EVEN A REMOTE CHANCE IT MIGHT HELP OPEN THE WAY  
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FOR A "POLITICAL SOLUTION" IN THE PROVINCE. END SUMMARY

1. TRIBAL TROUBLE: CONCEDED PROVINCIAL STATUS ONLY IN 1970, BALUCHISTAN IS A VAST DESERT AND MOUNTAIN DOMAIN EMBRACING FORTY PERCENT OF PAKISTAN'S LAND AREA BUT ONLY 2.5 MILLION PEOPLE, MOSTLY POOR, ILLITERATE BALUCHI AND PATHAN TRIBESMEN. THE ONLY INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP IS THAT OF THE SARDARS AND KHANS (CHIEFS) OF THE TRIBES, WHO ARE GENERALLY RELATED BY BLOOD OR MARRIAGE AND SEPARATED BY ANCIENT FEUDS. SHORTLY AFTER ASSUMING POWER IN 1971, BHUTTO PERMITTED THE NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY (NAP), A LEFTIST OPPOSITION GROUP WHICH HAD WON A PLURALITY IN THE PROVINCE, TO FORM A COALITION PROVINCIAL MINISTRY. TENSION BETWEEN THE PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS INCREASED AS PUBLIC SECURITY IN THE PROVINCE DECREASED, LEADING TO THE DISMISSAL OF THE NAP MINISTRY IN FEBRUARY 1973. NAP GOVERNOR GHOUS BUKHSH BIZENJO, NAP CHIEF MINISTER ATTAULLAH KHAN MENGAL, AND PROVINCIAL NAP CHIEF KHAIR BUKHSH MARRI WERE SENT THEREAFTER (AND STILL ARE) INCARCERATED. THE NEW GOVERNOR, INDEPENDENT SARDAR ASBAR KHAN BUGTI, CALLED IN THE ARMY TO DEAL WITH THE INSURGENCY ENGENDERED BY THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE NAP SARDARS, QUARRELED WITH BHUTTO, AND WAS DISMISSED IN JANUARY 1974. IN HIS PLACE BHUTTO APPOINTED MIR AHMED YAR KHAN, ERSTWHILE RULER OF KALAT STATE. JAM MIR GHULAM QADIR KHAN, ONCE RULER OF LAS BELA STATE AND UNIVERSALLY KNOWN BY HIS CURIOUS FEUDAL TITLE OF JAM SAHIB, HAD BEEN NAMED IN APRIL 1973 TO LEAD A HETEROGENEOUS PRO-PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (PPP) COALITION MINISTRY. DURING 1974 AND 1975, THE ARMY AND POLICE REDUCED THE TRIBAL INSURGENCY TO ITS PRESENT TOLERABLE LEVEL WHILE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION WAS LEFT TO THE ABLE CHIEF SECRETARY AND INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE. THE MINISTERS TRAFFICKED HEAVILY IN LUCRATIVE COONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS, LICENSES, AND POSTINGS, WHILE THE GOVERNOR BEMOANED EVEN TO FOREIGN DIPLOMATS THE INCOMPETENCE AND VENALITY OF THE JAM SAHIB'S MINISTRY AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL CURBS ON THE GOVERNOR'S ABILITY TO INTERVENE IN PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS.

2. GOVERNOR'S RULE: WITHOUT PRIOR PUBLICITY, BHUTTO FLEW FROM KARACHI TO QUETTA ON DECEMBER 30, TAKING CONFIDENTIAL

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ALONG SUCH IMPORTANT FIGURES AS PROVINCIAL COORDINATION MINISTER ABDUL HAFEEZ PIRZADA, INTERIOR MINISTER KHAN ABDUL QAYYUM KHAN, AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL TIKKA KHAN. AFTER TWO DAYS OF MARATHON MEETINGS WITH THE GOVERNOR, THE MINISTRY, AND SENIOR BUREAUCRATS, BHUTTO ANNOUNCED AT A PUBLIC MEETING ON DECEMBER 31, IN QUETTA THAT, "ON THE URGING OF RESPONSIBLE MEN" AND ON RECEIPT OF A CRITICAL REPORT FROM THE GOVERNOR, HE HAD

SUSPENDED BUT NOT DISSOLVED THE MINISTRY AND ASSEMBLY INDEFINITELY. A PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION ISSUED SIMULTANESLY NOTED THAT THE GOVERNOR HAD SUBMITTED AND THE PRESIDENT AGREED THAT CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNOMENT COULD NOT BE CARRIED OUT IN BALUCHISTAN; THEREFORE, UNDER ARTICLE 234 OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNOR'S RULE WAS PROCLAIMED. UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, THE PROCLAMATION IS PLACED BEFORE PARLIAMENT AND EXPIRES AFTER TWO MONTHS UNLESS EXTENDED BY JOINT RESOLUTION FOR A LONGER PERIOD NOT TO EXCEED SIX MONTHS IN ALL. THE PROCLAMATION ALSO STATED THAT NO BY-ELECTIONS TO THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY WOULD BE HELD DURING THIS PERIOD. IN A PRESS NOTE RELEASED ON THE SAME DAY, THE GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED ITS SATISFACTION THAT "THE INSURGENCY LAUNCHED BY CERTAIN ELEMENTS...HAS BEEN OVERCOME"BUT ITS DISSATISFACTION WITH "THE COMPLEMENTARY PERFORMANCE ON THE ADMINISTRATIVE SIDE." THE NOTE CITED THE MINISTRY'S FAILURE "TO MAKE GOOD USE OF SIZEABLE ALLOCATIONS" FROM ISLAMABAD FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND THE NEED TO "REJUVENATE" THE ADMINISTRATION. BY ITS ACTION AGAINST A PPP MINISTRY, THE NOTE EMPHASIZED, THE GOVERNMENT HAD "NAILED THE LIE THAT THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT OF THEPROVINCE WAS REMOVED FOR ANY ULTERIOR PURPOSES". THE NOTE LISTED THE FIVE POLITICAL ADVISORS TO THE GOVERNOR: FORMER CHIEF MINISTER JAM MIR GHULAM QADIR KHAN; FORMER FINANCE MINISTER SARDAR GHOU S BUKHSH RAISANI; FORMER INDUSTRIES MIISTER SAIFULLAH KHAN PARACHA; INACTIVE NAP MEMBER AND ASSEMBLY SPEAKER MOHAMMAD KHAN BAROZAI; AND PATHAN PPP ASSEMBLY MEMBER TAIMUR SHAH JOGEZAI.

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10

DHA-02 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /075 W

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P R 030600Z JAN 76

FM AMCONSUL KARACHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9484

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMCONSUL LAHORE  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KARACHI 0018

3. BHUTTO ELUCIDATES: SPEAKING DECEMBER 31 TO A QUETTA CROWD WHICH REPORTEDLY "CHEERED THE ANNOUNCEMENT", BHUTTO EXPLAINED THAT THE SURPRISE SUSPENSION WAS FULLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONSTITUTIONAL NORMS. CITING "PUBLIC COMPLAINTS, SUPPROTED BY THE GOVERNOR'S REPORT, OF A WEAK ADMIINISTRATION AND ITS INEPT HANDLING OF DEVELOPMENT ALLOCATIONS", BHUTTO ALSO HINTED AT MINISTERIAL CORRUPTION. BHUTTO PLEDGED THAT DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS WOULD BE EXPEDITED UNDER GOVEROR'S RULE. LOOKING FURTHER AFIELD, INFERENTIALLY TOWARD KABUL, BHUTTO OBSERVED THAT "THE CRISIS IS NOW OVER." HE HOPED THAT "FOREIGN POWERS HAVE BEGUN TO REALIZE THAT DAMAGE CANNOT BE CAUSED TO PAKISTAN'S INTEGRITY BY INTERFERENCE IN OUR AFFAIRS". ADDRESSING HIMSELF TO MEMBERS OF THE BANNED NAP, BHUTTO RULED OUT COOPERATION WITH THOSE "OPERATING AGAINST PAKISTAN'S INTEGRITY" BUT INVITED ANY "WHO HAD HONEST POLITICAL DIFFERENCES WITH US" TO JOIN HIM. LOOKING AHEAD, HE FORESAW THE POSSIBILITY THAT "THE BASE OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATION" IN QUETTA "WILL BE BROADER THAN IT HAS BEEN SO FAR".

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4. POSITIVE REACTIONS: THE INITIAL REACTION TO THE SUSPENSION OF THE UNPOPULAR JAM MINISTRY WAS POSITIVE, EVEN FROM SLIGHTLY EMBARRASSED PPP RANKS. RULING PARTY SENATOR NABI BUKHSH ZEHRI CALLED IT "THE NEED OF THE HOUR"; TWO QUETTA PPP WORKERS WERE QUOTED AS FAVORING THE MOVE; EVEN THE JAM SHIB, ACCORDING TO THE VERNACULAR PRESS, WAS SAID TO SUPPORT THE SUSPENSION. BALUCHI NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MEMBER FROM PUNJAB SHERBAZ MAZARI, LEADER OF THE NEW NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, STATED THAT THE SUSPENSION PROVED THE OPPOSITION CONTENTION THAT CONDITIONS HAD NOT BEEN NORMAL IN THE PRIVNCE. OPPOSITION JAMA'AT-I-ISLAMI LEADER MIAN TUFAIL MOHAMMAD URGED THAT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEBATE THE BALUCHISTAN SITUATION AND POINTED OUT THE INCONSISTENCY THAT THE PROVINCIAL ADAMIISTRATION HAD BEEN ACCUSED OF BEING INEFFECITVE, YET THREE OF THE SIX MEMBERS OF THE SUSPENDED MINISTRY HAD BEEN MADE ADVISORS TO THE GOVERNOR. NATIONAL PRESS TRUST DAILIES, INCLUDIN THE URDU "MASHRIQ" AND THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE

"PAKISTAN TIMES" AND "MORNING NEWS" RAN EDITORIALS STRESSING THAT POOR UTILIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT FUNDS HAD NECESSITATED BHUTTO'S MOVE. THE NEW INDEPENDENT URDU DAILY "ANJAM" MORE FORTHRIGHTLY NOTED THAT "ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS IN THE PROVINCE WERE NOT SATISFACTORY FOR A LONG TIME" AND HOPED THAT GOVERNOR'S RULE WOULD BE AN EFFECTIVE BUT TEMPORARY EXPEDIENT. PERHAPS COINCIDENTALLY, "ANJAM" WAS BANNED JANUARY 2.

5. COMMENT: TO CREATE AN ACCEPTABLE SUCCESSOR TO THE DISMISSED NAP COALITION MINISTRY, BHUTTO HAD PERFORCE TO LOOK TO THE DOZEN-ODD NON-NAP MEMBERS IN AN ASSEMBLY OF ONLY 21 SEATS, OF WHOM THE JAM SAHIB WAS THE LEAST OBJECTIONABLE AND MOST PLIANT. HIS MINISTRY MAINTAINED A USEFUL FACADE OF RESPONSIBLE, CONSTITUTIONAL, AND AUTONOMOUS PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WHILE THE ARY AND POLICE CONTAINED THE AFGHAN-ASSISTED PRO-NAP INSURGENCY. SOME WOULD QUESTION BHUTTO'S ASSERTION THAT THE TASK IS LARGELY ACCOMPLISHED. MEANWHILE, THE MALADMINISTRATION AND CORRUPTION OF THE JAM MINISTRY HAD BECOME SO BLATANT AND WELL-KNOWN THAT THE GOVERNOR WAS AT LAST ABLE TO CONVINCE BHUTTO TO OUST HIS LONGTIME

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FOE, THE JAM SAHIB. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT BHUTTO HOPES THAT UP TO SIX MONTHS OF MORE VIGOROUS ADMINISTRATION IN A LESS HEATED POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE WILL FAVORABLY IMPRESS THE ELECTORATE, WHICH AT SOME POINT THEREAFTER WILL BE CALLED ON TO FILL PERHAPS AS MANY AS EIGHT ASSEMBLY SEATS NOW HELD BY EX-NAP MEMBERS. WHILE THIS SHOULD AFFORD BHUTTO AN OPPORTUNITY TO INSTALL SOME MORE ABLE AND LESS CORRUPT LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS IN QUETTA, IT SEEMS DOUBTFUL THAT HE OR THEY WILL BE ABLE TO EFFECT A "POLITICAL SOLUTION" IN BALUCHISTAN AS LONG AS THE NAP LEADERSHIP GROUP REMAINS IN JAIL OR OTHERWISE PREVENTED FROM PARTICIPATING OPENLY IN PROVINCIAL POLITICS.

6 AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD MAY WISH TO ADD ALL-PAKISTAN PERSPECTIVE.

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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